

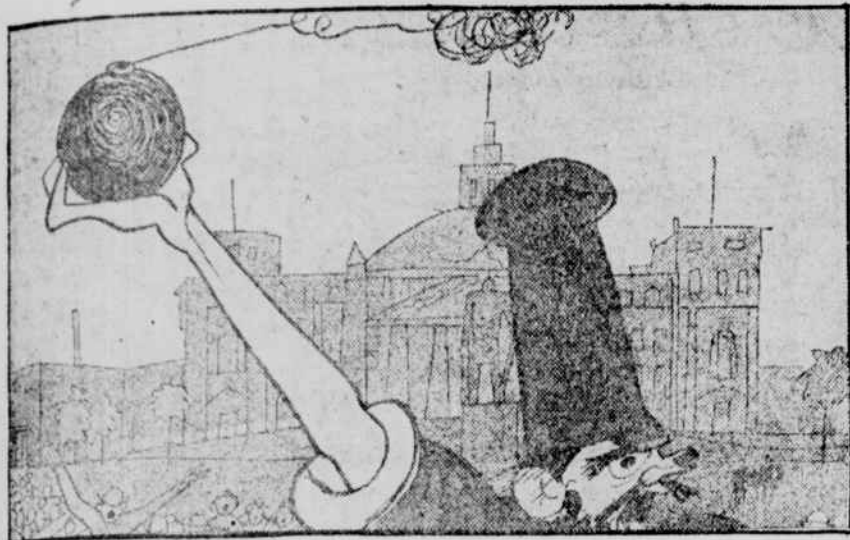
Russian Editors and Cartoonists Are Alive to Big News

THE ROYAL FAMILY (RETIRED)

—Mucha, Moscow, late Warsaw

A ONCE HAPPY HOUSEHOLD

HOW IT WORKED



German Social Democrat (in the streets)—Down with our rulers! We will also change our government!!!



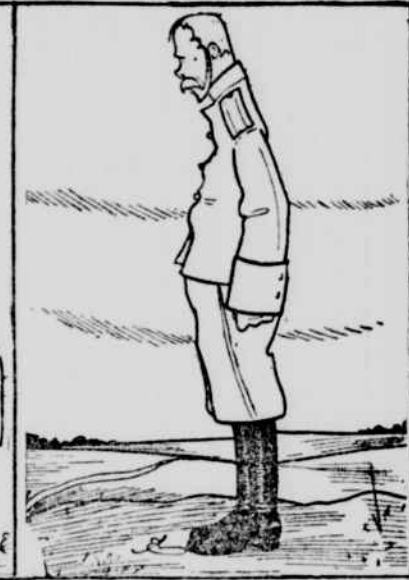
German Social Democrat (at home)—Put some new brimstone in this bomb. The last is burnt out! —Novy Satirikon, Petrograd



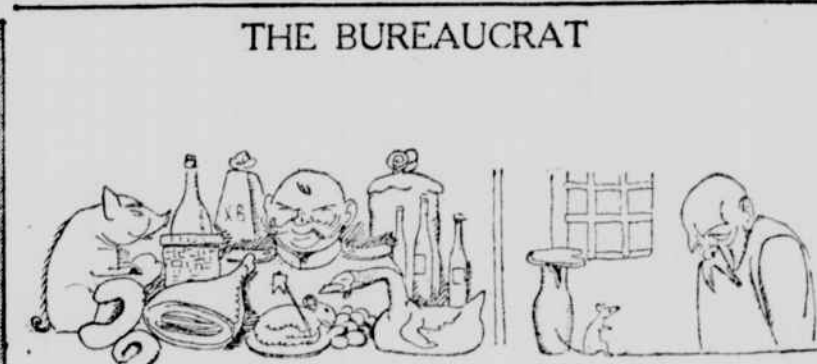
As He Was



And as He Is



The Former Empress —Novy Satirikon, Petrograd



THE BUREAUCRAT



The satirist here shows Rasputin, the Emperor and Empress. Suchomlinov, Protopopoff and other notorious characters. —Novy Satirikon, Petrograd

Counter-Revolution in Russia

In the "Russkoye Slovo," of Moscow, there appeared, a short time ago, the following illuminating article on the internal dangers confronting the New Russia. It was written by Prince Trubetskoy, one of Russia's most distinguished publicists, and created a deep impression.

By PRINCE EUGENE N. TRUBETSKOY

THE stories told about the revolutionary days at Moscow in 1905 there is one which has become particularly fixed in my memory. While gunfire and frequent cannonading were heard in the distance, an old woman stood before a church tower, crossing herself and sighing. "O, Lord, when will they at last forbid this freedom!"

Here is a vivid presentation of the psychology of counter revolution, that chief danger which made abortive many a revolution, including that of 1905. The fear aroused by a state of chaos is the underlying cause of counter revolutionary movements.

It was idle to identify it with so-called "bourgeois fear." The fear which the stronger reactionary movements arouse possesses not only the property-owning classes. There are moments in history when absolutely all classes of society, the upper as well as the lower, succumbed to it. It is exactly under such circumstances that a reactionary movement acquires irresistible strength.

The Earlier Revolt

This was the case in Russia after the revolution of 1905, for example. Who brought about the reaction then? Certainly not the landed proprietors alone; not the "possessors of wealth" alone; but the great peasant masses along with them. You will recall what then took place in the villages. First came the "illumination" and devastation of the landed estates. Then the peasants, who had not yet divided up these lands, fell upon one another. A wave of plunder, robbery and appropriation swept through the villages. And, to be sure, the horror of anarchy proved to be a stronger factor than the peasants' lust for land. Every one hungered for law and order. Then came Stolypin, with his field and order. His success was complete; the revolution was suppressed and, in accordance with the wishes of the old lady of Moscow, "freedom was forbidden."

The possibility of wild chaos lurks behind every revolution. This constitutes the basic counter revolutionary factor and the chief danger to liberty, since the chaos of anarchy is so terrible that it forces people to run into the arms of any government, however bad it may be. People overcome by panic prefer any kind of government to the entire absence of government.

Every one well understands that this possibility lurks also in the present revolution. In order to combat it with greater force we must look into the situation more closely.

The weapon of every revolution is seizure. It is both its strength and its weakness—its strength, because only by means of seizure can a people assume control of the government; its weakness, because usurpation can always work against the people that has acquired the reins of government. Seizure is the weapon of the counter revolution. To prevent this from happening, we must define the limits beyond which seizure passes to be the tool of revolution and becomes the tool of counter revolution.

Never perhaps have these limits been so well marked as in the present revolution. Since March 2, 1917, when the people's seizure of the power of government became an accomplished fact. On that day the political revolution had ended; there was every opportunity for carrying out legally the boldest democratic reforms. It is obvious, therefore, that from that moment seizure became not only useless, but even harmful to the cause of liberty. Once the people have complete governmental power seizure can take place only at the people's own cost. It matters not what social group is guilty of such usurpation of

power and what motives govern it in doing so; such forcible seizure is directed against the people and must be considered, therefore, as counter revolutionary activity.

Post-revolutionary usurpation can serve only as the beginning of social disorganization and decay.

Seizures that run counter to all law lead inevitably to catastrophe. And who but the indolent in Russia are not grabbing things at present? If we do not make a heroic effort to check this orgy of plunder, a whole series of catastrophes will overtake us.

The Anarchy of Starvation

The first and most dangerous of them is the anarchy of starvation. In all its possible forms. The danger is a serious one. Its general cause is partly seizure and partly other, milder forms of anarchy.

The peasants are being incited by irresponsible orators. Thanks to their agitation, a considerable part of the fields will remain untilled. It is easy to grab land, but to divide it among the peasants is impossible, since all efforts to do so end disastrously. Under such circumstances the seized lands simply remain idle, especially as the land grabbers sometimes lack the means necessary for their cultivation.

Anarchy paralyzes not only the raising of grain, but also the proper distribution of the grain already raised. Under the old regime the shipment of grain from one government to another was frequently hindered by local food commissions. Then Russia was composed of independent territories, as it were. Now these territories are replaced by a lot of independent agrarian republics, which have inherited from the old regime the same tendency not to permit the shipment of grain out of the confines of a given district.

There is still another form of famine, the most terrible of all. It is the fuel famine. The papers had it recently that the city of Moscow was provided with fuel only till December.

In a great number of places the peasants, stirred up by cheap orators, do not allow the landowners to cut and cart away any lumber, as they expect that the forests will soon pass into their own possession. It is easy to imagine what will take place in the cities, and even in those very villages, if measures are not taken at once to meet this situation.

And to the animosities already existing, new ones are now being added. Democracy itself is now ready to split into two diametrically opposite and inimical camps. The city stands against the country, and the country stands against the city.

Democracy itself is in danger of going to pieces. And, as the recent riots at Petrograd showed, Russia is but a hair's breadth away from civil war. If it almost broke out over that note of Milukoff's, what may not occur by reason of the impending winter of starvation?

Why Autocracy Failed

Let us recall why the autocracy of Nicholas II tumbled down so quickly. Because it had played every one false—had betrayed the interests of absolutely every class of people. This is a warning lesson to us, too. Anarchic willfulness is just as much opposed to every-willfulness as was this despotism. It, too, can leave every one with nothing but empty larders; and this would be the death sentence of liberty.

Once we realize the danger, however, we shall find the means for overcoming it.

What is needed here is a broad social unification, an organized uprising by the republic of freemen against the republic of devils.

The signs of the times now favor such a movement. The vast majority of intelligent Russians are for law and order, and all the sensible elements of the people are with them. Advantage should be taken of this situation. It lies in our power to forestall the counter-revolution, and it will be a crime for us not to do so.

NEWSPAPERS are springing up in Russia by the hundred. The majority of the new publications are socialistic. Many are pacifistic. All shades of public opinion are represented now by periodicals. The result is a flood of discussion the like of which no civilized country perhaps had ever experienced before. The main topic of discussion is the attitude toward the Provisional Government and its policies. The "Bourse Gazette," representing the capitalistic elements, writes:

"The declaration of the Provisional Government outlines a series of political and practical problems of the utmost importance. Immense and strenuous efforts are required to solve these problems. The members of the government ought to possess the confidence of the country. We had enough talk, enough meetings; the time for work and business has now arrived."

The radical "Den," which was one of the bitter foes of the first Provisional Government, is supporting fully the present Cabinet. It says:

"The Provisional Government has declared that for the salvation of the country it will take the most energetic measures against any counter revolutionary attempts."

"The government is not mistaken when it expresses its belief that in its activities it will have the fullest support of all to whom Russian freedom is dear. Indeed, the revolutionists themselves will take up arms to combat the anarchists who are seizing private property in order to save the proletariat from the destructive paths of anarchy. Democracy will guard the law, for authority comes from the people, through the people and by the people."

"Dielo Naroda," the organ of the "Social-Revolutionaries," whose leader, Victor Tchernoff, is himself a member of the Provisional Government, emphasizes the

fact that the Cabinet is responsible to the Council of Workmen and Soldiers, which it describes as the supreme authority in the nation. It declares:

"The Petrograd Council of Workmen and Soldiers, which is at present our highest representative body, and is virtually the improvised Parliament of the labor masses that accomplished the revolution, approves of the declaration made conjointly by the old and new members of the Provisional Government. As a result of this approval the Cabinet becomes lawful from the point of view of the revolutionary democracy."

Voicing the opinion of the Moderate Radicals, the "Russkaya Volia" takes a more optimistic view of the relations between the Provisional Government and the Labor Council. It writes:

"The programme of the new government cannot but unite all the right-thinking elements in the wide and various social strata of our population. It is a programme of genuine statecraft, fully alive to the complications of our many-phased new life. The political wisdom of the Russian people cannot be restrained from responding to it favorably. A promising sign of this is the fact that the Council of Workmen and Soldiers not only subscribed to it fully, but immediately took measures to imbue the popular elements with the same sentiment."

The organ of the Constitutional Democrats, "Rech," whose chief editor is Paul Milukoff, the retired Minister for Foreign Affairs in the first Provisional Government, takes a gloomy view of the new Cabinet. It points out that the Radical press, which so violently attacked the first Cabinet, failed to offer its whole-hearted support to the new ministry, and continues:

"We remember the enthusiasm which swept Russia at the formation of the first

Provisional Government. We remember the congratulations which came to us from all the nooks and corners of the land. Now, during the last two months, the situation has changed for the worse, which was the cause for the reorganization of the government. . . . The main purpose of this reorganization—the restoration of popular enthusiasm—has, however, failed to materialize. The new Cabinet is forced to begin its labor in uninspiring circumstances, and this undoubtedly is depressing. Responsible for this are, of course, the Socialist organs."

One of the latter journals, the "New Life," edited by Maxim Gorky, is showing signs of awakening to the seriousness of the situation. It exclaims:

"Yes, we are passing through an alarming, perilous period. The programs in Minsk, Samara, Uriez testify to this with all their lugubrious convincingness, as well as the activities of the soldiers on the railroads and a whole series of mob manifestations."

The paper, however, believes that these acts are the inheritance of the past, and will gradually pass out from the life of the New Russia.

The "Russkoye Slovo," of Moscow, a progressive publication of excellent standing, commented as follows on the political crisis which accompanied the fall of the Cabinet of free Russia:

"The portentous events which developed in Petrograd in connection with the Provisional Government's note to the Allies cannot but provoke the deepest alarm for the welfare of Russia's revolutionary democracy. . . . The sad happenings should now fuse our free people into one body, with one government, for the guarantee of the ultimate triumph of democracy depends on the ability of the Russian nation to preserve its unity and cohesion till the Constituent Assembly meets and saves us from the chaos of anarchy and social disintegration facing us."

South America Into the Broil

WITH Brazil "in a state of belligerent expectancy," as "O. Paiz" expresses it, and Uruguay already an avowed friend of the United States in the matter of giving harbor to American warships, Pan-America has been advanced another stage under the reconstructive force of the world war.

Pan-America is a conception of "America for Americans," as against European aggression, and it manifestly required that exterior aggression to call an actual protective union into being. However incomplete is the union of American republics for defence, it has this year become more than a theory.

Prior to the war the Monroe Doctrine was regarded with suspicion by petulant Latin-American republics, thinking themselves in no danger. But with German submarines sinking their ships and German dreams of empire disturbing their night's rest the Monroe Doctrine and its Pan-American concomitants have taken on a precious significance.

Uruguay was the first to openly avow her sympathy with the United States in defying Germany, and her ports are most conveniently open to our warships, though she still maintains the status of a non-belligerent toward Germany.

Brazil was quick to declare her sympathy with this country. As a second step she has revoked her neutrality. A third step—actual belligerency—may presently bring her to blows with Germany.

But Brazil is not actually at war. She

has her internal German-Brazilian problems—two rich provinces practically in the hands of German colonists, who threaten to secede.

Brazil's act of revocation of neutrality is a cooperative movement with Washington. This open cooperation marks a highly important advance in Pan-Americanism. The A B C diplomatic union between Argentina, Brazil and Chile and other associates, used as a mediation factor in our troubles with Mexico, brought us a little nearer, but Brazil's act stands out as the large step toward concerted Pan-American action.

Should Brazil actually declare war against Germany this will be the first encounter between the east coast of South America and a European power since the days of the Spanish decline, unless the Dom Pedro demonstrations in Brazil may be so regarded. Chile cleared her decks for action against England, as well as against the United States, several decades ago, when that militant little nation felt chipper over her new fleet. Venezuela has been an object of threatenerings from England, Germany, Italy and France because of bad debts, but Uncle Sam's fleet stood between that republic and her creditors with an ultimatum to England.

But for the first time the Latin republics are all but aligned against a European power, acting in full understanding with the United States, their avowed protector. "O. Paiz," under the title of "At Last," says:

"We are in a period of belligerent expectancy. Brazil does not confine herself to the declaration that she does not side with Germany. She shows that she is on the side of Germany's enemies. Her political orientation is from now on perfectly obvious."

The "Journal do Comercio" declares that the Brazilian government, which spontaneously achieved a solidarity with the United States, could not lose sight of the principal reason for the conflict between Germany and America.

President Wilson now has under consideration the personnel of a mission to Brazil. It probably will leave the United States within a month or six weeks, and will include men familiar with Latin-American conditions and representatives from the military establishment.

Brazil's seizure of the war-bound German ships would add to her merchant marine more than 150,000 tons, which, with that already at her disposal, would contribute materially to the solution of how to get supplies to the Allies. Her navy if the largest of the South American group, and in connection with the American fleet, commanded by Admiral Caperton, the work of keeping the South Atlantic clear of enemy craft would be greatly facilitated.

Major Norton de Mattos, in "The Pall Mall Gazette," mentions a link between Brazil and Portugal which is worth noting now that both countries have entered the war. Major Mattos says:

"As the greatest nation in North America owes its origin to England, so the greatest nation in South America (Brazil) is an offshoot of Portugal."

Two Pictures of Holland

The Neutral Nation

HOLLAND, the fat neutral, has not enriched herself as a port of entry for hungry Germany without fear and trepidation. This little nation of disproportionate resources is armed to the teeth, while she barters between the belligerents for much of the world's food surplus. She has as many men in arms as if she were at war, and her navy bristles with guns on decks cleared for action.

Thus armed, and thus enriched by trade, she begs to be permitted to remain neutral, not because of the profits of neutrality alone, but also because of the perils of being gobbled up by Germany or of being punished by the Allies.

Acute crises affect Holland at intervals. She is in a fever of excitement now over the new British war zone regulations, which are intended to tighten the blockade against Germany through Holland, but which Holland protests as a complete prohibition of her North Sea trade.

England has tried to buy up Holland's surplus food supply, but always the shrewd Holland traders were able to find entrance into Germany for food already sold to France and England. Many crafty Dutchmen have grown enormously rich in the war trade. The recent riots of women in Amsterdam and dumping of potatoes intended for England were in protest against their own merchants rather than against the Allies, for the Dutch food speculators have almost sold the Holland consumer out and prices are almost as prohibitive as they are in Germany.

Coffee, sugar, cigars, cocoa, fish, butter, eggs, beef, cheese and even wheat flowed into Holland in unprecedented quantities. The blockade tightened, but exports failed to decrease proportionately. The government long ago introduced bread tickets and regulated the quantity of various commodities to be used. There is a real shortage of other foods, but still the traders continue to smuggle stuff into Germany.

An American embargo against Holland is now advocated by England, and Holland is fearful. Great Britain presented to the United States figures showing that from Scandinavia and Holland enough fat is going into Germany to supply the whole army. Most of these exports are replaced with imports from America, it is asserted, and it is declared that this country, through the power to order embargoes, can prevent all shipments of fats into Germany. In particular, coal has enabled Germany to exact from Scandinavia and Holland food in return for this fuel, for which they were almost absolutely dependent upon Germany.

The zone recently established in the North Sea by the British government has drawn protests from the Dutch government, which maintains that these regulations render the passage of all shipping to and from Holland around the northern coast of England completely impossible. The other routes are included in the German danger zone.

Holland as a belligerent would be formidable. Every invader has there met his Waterloo. Not by flooding her low-lying lands alone, as did the founders of the House of Orange against the harsh Spanish rulers, can Holland defend herself. She is at home on the sea. Her colonizing instinct has been second only to that of England and Spain and Rome, while her fleet has traditions of victory at sea that make her respected as a power quite beyond the pygmy size of her territory.

As the Sea's Mistress

IN 1665 Robert Clavell published a work "Concerning His Majesty's Right and Propriety to His Dominion on the British Seas and the Netherlands' Insupportable Insolencies," which he dedicated (humbly) to "the most illustrious George, Duke of Aubermarle," etc., etc. In it he paints the Dutch in gory colors:

"The profits which the Dutch have made by their fishing on the English seas are as vast as their ingratitude is abominable, which with an elaborate malice they have expressed by their manifold outrages in the East and West Indies, where (that no villain may be unpractised) to improve their interests, they have added hypocrisy to their avarice and to their ambition murder. The innocent blood which they have spilt doth cry aloud for vengeance; nor can the guilt of it fall asleep, but will be lodged in the memories of righteous men."

The author says that the Hollanders utterly disregarded "His Majesty's undoubted right and sole propriety in the English, Scottish and Irish seas"; that "they invaded the islands of Moluccos, Lantore and Polleoron," and that, "despite the strict alliance and confederacy for partnership in the East India trade, made in the year 1619":

"Behold the Dutch (who would be no better neighbors to us in the Indies than in Europe), began to quarrel with us and to hinder us in our trade to free places, the which the better to obtain they oftentimes seized upon our ships and goods, and this violence not to answer their expectation, they at the last contrived to make themselves the absolute masters of the vast profits of this place."

"In the pursuit thereof they have demolished the English forces, and, laying violent hands on the English themselves, who made not the least resistance, they have tied them to stakes with ropes about their necks; they have seized upon their goods; they have imprisoned their persons; they have whipped them at the post in the open Market Place, and, having washed their torn and wounded bodies with vinegar and salt, they have again doubled their scourges and multiplied their torments."

"And, as if they were the absolute owners of the Indies, they have assumed a power to themselves in the deciding of the controversies between the English and the Indian over matters passed quite out of their jurisdiction, and, when law and right have been against them, they have executed their decrees by violence."

"These be they who have laid a claim to His Majesty's interests on his own British seas, and, rather than allow them proper unto him, they have declared them common unto all."

Another picture of the militant Hollander is drawn by the Rev. George Edmundson:

"The varying fortunes of the obstinate and fiercely contested struggles with the Dutch for maritime and commercial supremacy in the days of the Commonwealth and Restoration are familiar to all readers of English history, and especially of English naval history."

"Never did English seamen fight better than in those Dutch wars, and never did they meet more redoubtable foes. The details of the many dogged contests marked by alternate victory and defeat are now more or less unintelligible save to the expert in the naval strategy and tactics of the times, but legends have grown round the story of Martin Tromp sailing down the Channel with a broom at his masthead and of the exploit of Michael de Ruyter in burning the English ships at Chatham. The names of these two famous seamen are probably better known to Englishmen than those of any of the contemporary English admirals, save that of Robert Blake alone."